The "Marginal War"—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE *Nation*

July 7, 1951

Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat

Can the Cease-fire Misfire?

BY SCRUTINEER

*

We Can Forfeit Freedom

BY SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

*

No Reds in Mill Valley - - *Carey McWilliams*

Footnote to Taft-Hartley - - - - *Aleine Austin*

How to Combat Inflation - - - *J. K. Galbraith*

From Jerusalem to Rome - - - - *Marie Syrkin*

JUL 9 1951

CENTS A COPY : EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 : 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..$9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ Consumer Reports..$10.75
You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

7/7/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation.*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 7, 1951 NUMBER 1

The Shape of Things

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ALEINE AUSTIN'S article, Footnote to Taft-Hartley, in this issue is underscored by a recent riot at the Summerville, Georgia, plant of the Berryton Mills. The C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union had been certified by the National Labor Relations Board in February, 1949, as the collective-bargaining representatives for the company's 300 employees. The union was again certified as the collective-bargaining representative in November, 1950. Although an agreement had not been signed after more than two years of negotiation, the workers still did not strike. Not until the company began firing union leaders did the rank and file's accumulated grievances result in a walk-out. The company immediately moved to crush the strike and the union. Within three weeks ninety-one strikers were arrested for violation of an injunction against picketing which the company had obtained. In the meantime the company hired scab labor, and the usual trouble ensued. A group of strikers now face a charge of "murder while committing a riotous act." They are accused of overturning a car carrying strikebreakers, causing the death of a non-striker who attempted to leap from the capsizing car. Thanks to Taft-Hartley, the South's "textile belt" is rapidly returning to the primitive savagery that characterized the region's industrial relations before the New Deal. The violence will continue until the protections which the Wagner Act gave to labor is fully restored.

✳

THE ARREST IN ARGENTINA OF RICARDO Balbin, presidential hope of the Radical Party, and of two high-ranking Army officers, and the replacement of Foreign Minister Paz by the ambassador to Washington, Jeronimo Remorino, are symptoms of the mounting political crisis in Buenos Aires. This is the second time Señor Balbin has been arrested in the past fifteen months, ten of which he has spent in jail. When released after his first arrest, he made a propaganda tour through the country, and drew large and enthusiastic crowds. The economic situation in Argentina is getting worse, and the repressions reflect a new uneasiness among the ruling clique. Perón has apparently come to the conclusion that if the next presidential elections are fairly clean he is likely to be defeated. He is said to be thinking of advancing the date of the elections, holding them in November or December instead of next year, in order to prevent the opposition from mobilizing its full strength. He may also decree a "reform" of the electoral law, following the pattern in Italy and France. It is the change in labor's mood which has made Perón think his reelection endangered. Six of the largest unions—railway, maritime, printing, building, metal-working, baking—now oppose him, although their leaders still give lip-service to the regime. Part of the army, his chief stronghold, has also turned against him, and the navy and air force are said to be disloyal to him. Perón, however, still has the weapon of repression. Next week we shall publish a document from Buenos Aires presenting impressive evidence of the Perón terror.

✳

IN VETOING THE BROYLES BILL, A STRINGENT "anti-subversive" measure recently passed by the Illinois legislature, Governor Adlai Stevenson has taken a firm stand against the demagogues who have been practicing political blackmail in so many state legislatures. In a fine veto message, Governor Stevenson summed up his objection to the Broyles bill and similar repressive measures in this manner:

> Basically, the effect of this legislation . . . will be less the detection of subversives and more the intimidation of honest citizens. But we cannot suppress thought and expression and preserve the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. That is our dilemma. In time of danger we seek to protect ourselves from sedition, but in doing so we imperil the very freedoms we seek to protect, just as we did in the evil atmosphere of the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams's Administration and just as Britain did during the Napoleonic era. . . . We must fight traitors with laws. We already have the laws. We must fight falsehood and evil ideas with truth and better ideas. We have them in plenty. But we must not confuse the two. Laws infringing our rights and intimidating unoffending persons without enlarging our security will neither catch subversives nor win converts to our better ideas. And in the long run evil ideas can be counteracted and conquered not by laws but only by better ideas.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 1
Foothold on Peace 4
The Consumers Win a Battle 5

ARTICLES

Neutralism Rejected *by Alexander Werth* 5
Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat *by Scrutineer* 6
The "Marginal War" *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 8
Footnote to Taft-Hartley *by Aleine Austin* 10
No Reds in Mill Valley *by Carey McWilliams* 12
We Can Forfeit Freedom *by Margaret Chase Smith* 13

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

How to Combat Inflation *by J. K. Galbraith* 14
Two First Novels *by Harvey Swados* 14
The Great Divide *by Joseph Kraft* 15
From Jerusalem to Rome *by Marie Syrkin* 16
Palimpsest of History *by Mildred Adams* 17
Books in Brief 18
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 18

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 420 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 20

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

On June 28 three Republicans joined sixteen Democrats in the Illinois Senate to uphold the Governor's veto. A sharp reversal for the witch-hunters and demagogues, the vote to uphold the veto illustrates what courageous leadership can accomplish against what seem to be heavy odds. In this instance high praise should go to the Chicago *Sun-Times*, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and the Lindsay *Press* for the manner in which they opposed the Broyles bill and upheld the Governor's veto.

*

ON MAY 26 THE NATIONAL FARM LABOR Union (A. F. of L.) called a strike in the melon fields of California's Imperial Valley. The union relies heavily on Article 32 of the international labor agreement between Mexico and the United States, which provides for the immediate removal of Mexican nationals from the scene of a labor dispute. But Secretary of Labor Tobin, who is empowered to enforce the agreement, has refused to recognize the strike as a labor dispute and has passed the buck to the state employment service, only to have that service toss it right back to him. Mr. Tobin finally issued a removal order which applies, however, only to Mexican nationals working on farms that have been struck by the N. F. L. U. And it is almost impossible to prove that a particular farm has been struck, since farm owners procure their workers from a common labor pool. Not only can farmers transfer workers from one farm to another to prove that everything is in apple-pie order, but it is hard to distinguish between Mexican nationals working under contracts negotiated under the international labor agreement and the Mexican "wetbacks" now being widely used as strike-breakers.

*

IN THE MEANTIME GREAT PRESSURE IS BEING brought to bear by Southwestern cotton and produce growers to obtain a new labor agreement with Mexico to replace the one now in force, which expires on July 15. Gladwin Hill's thorough exposé in the New York *Times* of the wholesale violation of the laws concerning the use of "wetback" labor—as well as the findings of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor—make it difficult for the grower interests to justify the further importation of Mexican nationals. But these interests have great power and can crack the whip over a large group of Senators and Representatives from the deep South and the Southwest. By the time this paragraph appears in print the strike will doubtless be suspended, since Imperial Valley's melon crop will by then have been harvested by Mexicans, both "wetbacks" and legally admitted nationals. But the importance of the issue will remain. Of what use is an international labor agreement, designed to guard against labor exploitation, if it is not to be enforced?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SINCE THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN ELECTIONS a new emphasis may be noted in the propaganda against Point Four and similar programs. On the financial pages of such papers as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *World-Telegram,* the theme is now being developed that adverse economic conditions do not contribute to the spread of communism. Support for this view is found in the fact that the Communists polled a heavy vote in France and Italy despite the substantial economic improvement brought about, largely, by American aid. At the same time, so the argument runs, communism is a negligible influence in such poor countries as Ireland, Austria, and Turkey. The inference is that since spending money to raise living standards does not undercut communism, appropriations for economic aid can be safely tapered off. It may, in truth, be doubted that by itself "a good raise will cure a Communist"; on the other hand, it should not be assumed that people of Greece, Italy, and France have been given the equivalent of "a good raise," if that means a substantial improvement in living standards. Before abandoning the notion that economic aid can help to check the spread of communism, it might be well for us to identify the social groups that have benefited most and least from American aid and then correlate the political behavior of these groups with the size of the benefits they have received.

*

THE OTHER DAY A YALE PROFESSOR, Theodore M. Greene, told a Senate subcommittee he was disturbed by the fact that instructors avoid teaching about communism because they fear it might cost them their jobs. The next day Harvard got its inning. The *Crimson,* which can hardly be said to see eye to eye with the Communist Party despite its suspicious title, published its third annual report on academic freedom. The report is a first-rate document. A staff of five editors spent several months correlating news accounts, letters, and interviews bearing on thirty-five incidents in which a question of academic freedom was involved. As the report points out, those who cite instances of Communist perfidy—and they are not hard to find—to justify infringements of academic freedom, usually look in the wrong direction. "Of all the cases reported in this issue," says the report, "only one involves an actual card-carrying Communist. . . . The rest involve assorted radicals, former Communists, people who someone thought were Communists, members of 'subversive organizations,' teachers who opposed administration policies, and the like. . . . The threat [of communism] does not lie in lectures and speeches by radical teachers. If a teacher's political opinions have vitiated his value as a teacher, then he may be fired or not fired on the basis of his competence. But he should not be fired simply because his opinions are unusual or his associations unpopular." By and large the report fully supports the argument made by Dr. Greene and will doubtless be cited in Cambridge as further evidence that what Yale argues, Harvard proves.

*

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE ENDLESS FEUD between California and Arizona over the water of the Colorado River may reach a stalemate this year, when Arizona's request for authorization for the Central Arizona Project is stymied by California's demand for a Supreme Court ruling on how much water belongs to each state. The settlement of this continuing dispute is again being hindered by the activities of the high-pressure lobbies maintained by both states. The most vociferous of the California lobbies is the Colorado River Association; though this organization is described as a "non-profit, non-dues-paying, and non-fees-paying" organization of private citizens, it managed last year to find $97,000 for lobbying, and in the last three years it has spent approximately $250,000 for that purpose. By and large the Colorado River Association speaks for the large industrial users of Colorado River water in Southern California. Certain industries, of course, consume enormous amounts of water. Between 1939 and 1949 the water demands of a selected group of industries in Los Angeles increased 37 per cent. Experts estimate that 65,000 gallons of water are required to produce a ton of steel, 770 gallons to refine a barrel of oil, and 357 gallons to brew 15 gallons of beer. Los Angeles homeowners would doubtless be amazed to learn the extent to which domestic water rates subsidize the lower rates paid by industrial users. For years now city consumers have been paying a large part of the water and power bill for Southern California industry.

*

AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT IS IN THE making in the case of Dr. William J. Fordrung, who was recently suspended from the faculty of Hunter College in New York for taking "a sensational and unwholesome approach" in the teaching of sex hygiene. The suspension was recommended by a committee of faculty members composed of a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant. Dr. Fordrung contends that he is being persecuted for his Roman Catholic beliefs and for attempting to overcome "the teaching of communism in morals." He has also implied that his accusers are Jewish and that anti-Semitism is the basic charge. A study of the case, however, fails to show that Dr. Fordrung was charged with anti-Semitism or that his personal beliefs are involved in any manner. In fact, the importance of the case turns on the point that the charges are strictly limited to Dr. Fordrung's classroom behavior and his competence as an instructor. The faculty report is quite specific on this point. It accuses Dr. Fordrung of loudness of voice in the classroom, of an ever-angry disposi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in class, of the habit of interrupting students, and of teaching, directly or indirectly, Roman Catholicism in the name of teaching morality. When asked if he attempted to present both sides of controversial issues, such as birth control, Dr. Fordrung replied: "No, there are not two sides to murder." The evidence also shows that Dr. Fordrung referred to Columbia and Harvard universities as "hotbeds of communism" and frequently inveighed against General Marshall, Dean Acheson, and the State Department—subjects rather remotely related to sex hygiene and education. Dr. Fordrung will be tried in the fall by a committee of three board members who will report back to the Board of Higher Education. Here, for once, is a case in which the charges against an instructor have been directly related to classroom behavior and professional competence rather than to his beliefs or associations or extra-curricular activities.

✳

IT IS WITH GENUINE REGRET THAT WE record the departure from the *Nation* staff of Harold C. Field, who has served as executive editor since June, 1948. Mr. Field will spend the summer in Europe and will contribute articles and comments from the countries he visits.

Foothold on Peace

PEACE is more than the absence of war. In Korea the world is so conscious of the political and economic hurdles standing between cease-fire and peace that commentators, official or otherwise, have allowed themselves little satisfaction over the probable early end of the fighting. But a good deal of satisfaction is justified, if only because once the killing stops it is most unlikely that either side will start it up again. Merely to shift the unresolved conflicts from the battlefield to the conference room is a substantial gain. It is also fair to look upon Russia's initiative and the quick response of the Chinese and North Korean commanders to General Ridgway's truce proposal as implicit acknowledgment that the aggression of June, 1950, has been defeated. Verbal admission of this patent truce may never be made, but the act is convincing enough.

Whether the same result could have been achieved when the Thirty-eighth Parallel was first reached by the U. N. forces last fall will never be known, for a proper try was not made, despite the earnest plea of the Indian delegate. Military conditions were apparently unfavorable to peace then as they were last week, but it is at least possible that Communist leaders, not yet fully realizing the force that could be marshaled against them, would have rejected a cease-fire. In any case the chance was passed up by the U. N. command and lost utterly when General MacArthur made his reckless drive to the Yalu. That the occasion was this time seized by both Russia and the United States is proof that neither power sees any gain in further fighting. From the American point of view, as we have said many times, only an early truce could justify the policy of limited war. Besides providing the essential preliminaries, the events of the past week have gone far to clinch the Administration's case against General MacArthur.

Whatever bickering there may be over the conditions set by General Ridgway, nobody doubts that the proposed truce talks will be held. Meanwhile an unofficial truce is likely to be in effect, since soldiers are understandably reluctant to die when a war's end is in sight. Even the armistice itself may be relatively easy to arrange. The real trouble will come later when the major political and territorial issues are up for discussion. A few questions are enough to suggest how critical and how tough those issues may be. Will the U. N. resolution of last winter embodying the five principles be accepted as the basis for peace negotiations? What powers will be included? Peking will be there, obviously, since it must be a party to the settlement. Will the United States insist on admitting the Chinese Nationalist government as well? To do so would presumably end the negotiations before they began; not only would Moscow and Peking pull out, but Britain and several other of our active allies which have recognized Communist China would be put in an impossible position. On the other hand, to exclude the Formosa regime from a conference dealing with the whole Far Eastern problem would play straight into the hands of MacArthur, McCarthy, and the China lobby and cancel most of the Administration's recent gains.

Will both North and South Korea be represented or neither? Without doubt the government of Syngman Rhee will expect to be included, since it was the victim of the original attack and South Koreans have done a good bit of the fighting. But the North Koreans have a right there too, especially if Peking is represented. The presence of the two Korean regimes will insure bitter conflict; it will also hamper any effort the other powers may make to plan the unification of the country.

Difficult as they may be to answer, these are rather minor questions. More serious are those that involve China's role in Asia—its seat in the U. N., the disposition of Formosa, what to do about the aggressor resolution and Peking's subsequent refusal to deal with the U. N. If Mao Tse-tung's government stands pat on these matters and the United States refuses to retreat from the extreme position taken by Secretary Acheson before the Russell committee, a deadlock is assured in advance. Then what? It may well be that, like Palestine since the Arab invasions, Korea will have to survive for a long time in a state of armistice rather than peace. For peace is more than the absence of war; it is the settlement of conflict, and this is going to be a hard slow job.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Consumers Win a Battle

FOR the first time since the middle 1930's Texas advocates of taxation of natural resources have won a clear-cut decision over the oil and gas lobbies. With the moral support of labor and the organized assistance of the Texas Farm Bureau and the County Judges and Commissioners Association, a handful of freshman members of the Texas legislature have finally forced the adoption of a measure taxing natural gas pumped into pipe lines at a rate which is expected to yield a yearly revenue of $12,000,000.

The tax bill was written by Representative Jim Sewell of Blooming Grove, a thirty-seven-year-old navy veteran blinded in action who has just received his law degree, with honors, from the University of Texas. Sewell allied himself with a group working for increased appropriations for rural roads and against the diversion of such funds to primary highway construction. Although the legislative session dragged well beyond the normal 120-day period, the coalition rented an ancient fourteen-room house and announced that it would fight all summer if necessary. The powerful oil and gas lobby capitulated when it realized that the "Sewell taxers" meant business.

In 1939 and again in 1941 attempts had been made by Governor W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel to write a ceiling on oil taxation into the constitution and to enact a general sales tax. When these efforts failed, the oil and gas lobby adopted the strategy of imposing selective sales taxes on cigarettes, beer, automobiles, insurance policies, and other consumer goods whenever new state funds for welfare, schools, or roads were needed. In the session just ended, the Shivers administration proposed an increase of from four to five cents a gallon in the gasoline tax and other selective sales taxes. Not only were these measures defeated, but corporate franchise taxes, largely paid by out-of-state oil, gas, and sulphur corporations, were sharply increased.

As a result of the new tax on natural gas the big interstate pipe lines will doubtless try to increase gas rates to Eastern and Midwestern gas utilities. The Federal Power Commission will then have to decide whether a tax of a half-cent per thousand cubic foot on gas which the pipe-line companies buy in Texas for an average of 5.1 cents per thousand and sell in the East for nearly 30 cents wholesale, warrants a price increase to out-of-state consumers.

It is not surprising that the question of taxing natural gas should have become such a dominant political issue in Texas. Since non-industrial consumers—and there are enough home fuel consumers in the United States to take the entire Texas supply—are willing to pay much more for natural gas than are industrial users, exports have steadily increased. Last year interstate pipe-line firms took slightly more than half of the pipe-line gas produced in Texas. Natural gas is now going from Texas fields to more than thirty states and Mexico, and is available to more than 34,000,000 consumers from San Francisco to New York.

The tremendous increase in the industrial output of Texas between 1939 and 1947 has naturally underscored popular concern about the depletion of oil and gas reserves. The big pipe-line companies have always contended that since Texas has three-fourths of the reserves of this fine fuel, it should generously share the benefits with the rest of the country. But Texas natural gas is now being used in regions which have enough coal reserves to last for two thousand years, while the gas supplies—the state's only fuel resource—may be exhausted in twenty to fifty years. Aware that they may well be buying coal gas imported through these same pipe lines twenty years hence, Texans not unreasonably want to tax the profits of the gas companies while there are profits to tax. The fight over the control and management of this basic resource may well change the traditional pattern of Texas politics. Although the interstate pipeline companies will doubtless try to pass the new tax on to their out-of-state customers, Texas consumers have won an important battle.

Neutralism Rejected

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 26

AN INTERESTING and neglected aspect of the recent French elections is the collapse of the Neutralists. With Claude Bourdet at their head, they ran half a dozen candidates in the Paris area, none of whom were elected. Bourdet himself got only 8,000 votes instead of the 25,000 he needed to win. Yet his meetings had been a great success, and even the Ministry of the Interior had predicted an easy victory for him. On the surface, the reasons for his failure were inadequate funds, no press except his weekly paper, and the appeal by his competitors not to waste votes on "splinter parties" and "freak candidates." Nor was the choice of the word "Neutralist" a happy one.

But there were more profound reasons for the Neutralists' failure, one being the conservatism of French voters, who usually prefer to vote for the same party as last time or else for another large party. Another was an insufficient realization among the masses that before long there will be a crying need for a nucleus of a new left opposition to which Socialists, M. R. P.'s, and perhaps even Communists can adhere as the internal and international situation becomes more menacing. In the present circumstances the electorate, so far as it gave Bourdet any thought at all, viewed him not as a unifying but as a dividing factor. The Socialists and M. R. P.'s detected in some of his assertions a re-

Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

semblance to Communist arguments; the Communists were hostile because he was essentially an anti-Communist. At any rate, Bourdet's defeat at the polls in spite of his great intellectual authority is one of the curious episodes of the election.

His own view is that the bulk of the French people—except the workers, who get their answers from the Communists—still live too well and are too lulled by a conformist press to realize the full gravity of the situation. For the time being, consequently, the same old men and the same old ideas will do. The failure of the Neutralists was the occasion of course for great rejoicing in the rightist press, and the Paris *Herald Tribune* congratulated the French electorate on having "rejected them." Actually it seems to have ignored rather than rejected them.

Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat

BY SCRUTINEER

Washington, June 28

OUR State Department got off to a limping start after Jacob Malik, Soviet delegate to the United Nations, put forth his proposals for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the belligerents from the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

As in Hitler's bad old days, Malik had to choose a Saturday afternoon to pull that startling rabbit out of his hat. He also succeeded in pulling some United States senior officials off the golf links. They sped to the State Department. With Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk presiding, they sat there four hours. For all the action they produced, it might have been a reunion of the Washington chapter of the yoga scouts. They spoke to Dean Acheson by telephone. There was some wonder that Acheson, on his Sandy Spring farm, did not think it worth while to drive forty-five minutes to his office and personally take charge at this crucial moment.

What emerged from that late Saturday huddle of our diplomatic talent was top secret. But not for long.

Almost immediately after Dean Rusk, H. Freeman Matthews, George Perkins, George McGhee, John Hickerson, and other State Department big brass ended their deliberations, the department rushed off a message to our Far Eastern command in Tokyo. The cable contained the Administration's up-to-the-minute thoughts on Malik's proposals.

It was written and dispatched for the confidential guidance of General Matthew Ridgway and his advisers. But a zealous United States information officer in Tokyo, misunderstanding Washington's intention, released the private directive to newspaper correspondents in Japan, making matters a little worse by labeling it a State Department handout.

The memorandum oozed American suspicion of the Russian armistice suggestion. It tended to dismiss Malik's proposals as probably just another bolshevik propaganda trick—before we had put the litmus paper anywhere near the Soviet solution. It hinted, not subtly, that there might well be nothing more to Malik's gesture than a decoy to lure us below the Thirty-eighth Parallel before the Communists unleashed a smashing attack, hoping to catch us off base.

Whatever effect the State Department memo may have had in Moscow and Peking, it certainly succeeded in upsetting our allies. Desperately anxious to clutch the first real prospect of peace, our British, French, Dutch and other U. N. associates saw in the Tokyo leak an ugly token of what seemed to be American reluctance to end the Korean hostilities.

Now nobody could sensibly expect Acheson, upon hearing of the Malik broadcast, to forget his dignity, jump up and down with glee, pick up the telephone, and call off the war. Plain sense demanded a cautious approach. If we accepted too precipitately we risked appearing to be playing from weakness and boosting the Communist price for peace. Further, Malik's brief truce proposals, a shirt-tail to his vehement attack on the United States, required clarification. We had to know more about them.

But to foreign diplomats in Washington and to level-headed newsmen the State Department's initial attitude suggested a grudging approach to peace. Almost the entire emphasis at the department, as in its published Tokyo directive, was on suspicion of Soviet motives. Between naive concurrence and blustering skepticism, we veered strongly to the latter. If we meant to give the Russian overture serious consideration, we hardly conveyed that impression.

One Allied diplomat at a party a couple of days later said he thought the United States attitude was well-balanced. Then he spelled in acid letters what he meant. He related a conversation said to have occurred between Andrei Gromyko and a New York *Times* correspondent at Lake Success.

SCRUTINEER is the pen name of a writer who has long specialized in foreign affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Did you see my story in the *Times* this morning?" the reporter asked Gromyko.

"Yes."

"What'd you think of it?"

Gromyko, the story runs, paused and then remarked, "I thought it an extremely well-balanced report: half true, half false."

Similarly, added the narrator, there is balance in the United States attitude toward Russia's proposals: half realistic, half psychotic.

Acheson and his Assistant Secretaries of State, at least at the outset, seemed far more mindful—though probably less so than appeared on the surface—of the China lobby and their other foes than of the suddenly emerging chance of ending the bloodshed in Korea.

From a few Senators and Representatives came the prompt demand to continue the fighting until we had unified all Korea. We had been right in refusing to let Communist China shoot its way into the United Nations. But that ethic works both ways. What moral title would we possess to shoot Koreans into unification? Yet that is what Syngman Rhee, like his buddies in Congress, immediately insisted upon.

THREE days later the political climate in Washington began to change. Three days may seem a short time to allow our position to mature, but many more days, perhaps weeks, will pass while we put Malik's proposal to the test. During that period the slaughter in Korea goes on.

On June 26, speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Dean Acheson injected a note of sanity into these developments. He definitively scotched the notion of making unification of the whole of Korea a condition for a cease-fire. He reaffirmed the reasonable principle, which we have been far too coy in underscoring, that withdrawal of the Communists behind the Thirty-eighth Parallel, with guaranties against renewed aggression, would be "a successful conclusion of the conflict." At the same time it became known that Acheson had ordered the American ambassador in Moscow and our delegate at the United Nations to seek the fullest light upon Malik's pronouncement.

Did Communist China agree to Malik's proposals? Did the Soviet government favor letting the commanders in the field open the armistice talks? Just how did Peking feel about that? Exactly which are the "belligerents" who, according to Malik, ought to arrange the cease-fire? Above all, however, we wished to learn whether the Russians and their Chinese allies meant business. Were they ready at once to pursue Malik's generalities and translate them into practice?

Already there are signs of at least one possible hitch, which one must hope will be straightened out. The U. N. forces in Korea, according to Pentagon experts, now hold excellent defensive positions, topographically perhaps the best to which they can aspire. On the western side of the peninsula we are well south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but to the center and in the east we are from twenty to thirty miles north of the Parallel in country whose contours are greatly to our advantage. There is consequently a strong tendency among our military chiefs in Washington, Tokyo, and Korea to insist that the eventual armistice line be drawn somewhat north of the line Russia proposed. Shall we let the chance of peace smash on those North Korean rocks?

Seligson

Jacob Malik

British and French specialists say that the asset of our present position is not worth that price. They stress that our situation on the ground is steadily improving. That is because the troop-rotation scheme allows us to keep an appreciable number of men on the spot after their replacements arrive and because we are concentrating more and more fire-power against the enemy. These specialists say we could agree to a demilitarized zone along the Thirty-eighth Parallel without incurring undue risk.

More serious is the enlargement of the Chinese Communist air force from about 200 to some 1,000 jets in the past few weeks. This news, divulged by Secretary of the Air Force Finletter after his return from Tokyo the other day, is disturbing. But to assess this accretion of enemy strength as a cause for prolonging the war would be to take a topsy-turvy view of the situation.

It's also doubtful whether we will assign much of a role, if any, to Secretary General Trygve Lie at this stage. There is nothing sinister about this, nor any derogation of the United Nations. To proceed through intermediaries and through cumbersome machinery would simply entail needless delay. The direct approach accords with our allies' wishes.

As I said, there are distinct indications that the Administration, after stumbling at the start, is now intent upon testing the Soviet, Red Chinese, and North Korean will to silence the guns. I understand that there is even a readiness in Washington to include Soviet as well as Chinese Communist and North Korean representatives in the group which, with U. N. nations, would supervise the demilitarized zone if a truce is effected.

It's still too early to emit lusty whoops. However, with thumbs tightly held, it can be said that the early American reluctance seems to be yielding to a strong

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

desire on the part of the Administration to come to terms.

The first round of talks was inconclusive, but it left the gate wide open for a cease-fire in Korea. Nothing short of some wholly unforeseen twist or blundering diplomacy should prevent a swift suspension of hostilities.

The State Department allowed the American public to be grossly misled on Tuesday. The previous night the Associated Press and United Press circulated in this country and abroad a false story to the effect that Gromyko wanted to have the U. N. commander conduct truce parleys only with the North Korean commander, leaving the Chinese Communists outside—presumably as "the laughing third party." This A. P.–U. P. yarn suggested another Red trap. We were to sign a truce with the North Koreans while the Chinese Communists would be free to attack us.

After radio and press had screamed this phony version of the Gromyko-Kirk talk for about eighteen hours, the State Department issued an authentic account of it. The official announcement made clear that Gromyko had offered the reasonable suggestion, which we also favor, that the U. N. commander in the field and military representatives of the North Koreans *and* of the "Chinese volunteer units" should negotiate the armistice.

The most hopeful of Gromyko's remarks to Kirk was his proposal that political and territorial matters be omitted from the truce talks, arrangements for settling those major issues to be decided later by the parties in Korea.

If Communist China agrees to limit the next stage to strictly military questions, that will mark a noteworthy departure from its previous attitude. Premier Chou En-lai said in substance last February that China could in no circumstances accept the American suggestion for a cease-fire in advance of negotiations. The implication was that the future of Formosa and China's U. N. membership would have to be discussed along with a cease-fire.

A distinction ought to be made between the physical act of ending hostilities and concluding an armistice. The latter entails agreement on a demilitarized zone in Korea. It includes arrangements for supervising and safeguarding that zone. It includes assurances against renewal of the fighting. Consequently there may be a longish time-lag between a cease-fire and the armistice.

The "Marginal War"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN STRIKING a balance for the first half of 1951, the most encouraging fact is that the extension of the Korean war so frequently predicted failed to materialize. From January 1 until a few weeks ago I kept a record of the alarming predictions made by well-known commentators in the press and on the radio, such as that an attack on Yugoslavia was imminent, that a Soviet coup in the Middle East or in Germany was "practically certain," that there would be "general war in the spring." It is enlightening now to go through my file. But while it has turned out that the extension of the war existed only in the mind of certain columnists, the cold war has in truth entered on a different phase. The French call this new phase "la guerre des marges"—marginal or peripheral war.

The responsible leaders of neither bloc would go lightly into a general war, but a "marginal war" may appear to offer a solution for certain economic and political problems. Under this head are classed the continuing disputes between East and West in far-flung areas of the world, in which each side is conscious of the dangers involved and takes good care not to go beyond the point where the clash of interests would unleash a third world war. The war in Korea has brought the antagonists to the brink of the abyss, but neither has taken the final plunge into disaster.

The Russians, for their part, might have made any turning back impossible if at the moment when the United Nations forces were in dire straits in Korea they had used their submarines and air power to drive MacArthur's soldiers into the sea. They refrained. They even refused to give their Chinese allies material aid in an amount that would have been considered equivalent to direct intervention. The Americans, in turn, could have hurled their whole air force against Manchuria and probably have destroyed the Chinese army. They too refrained. Whenever progress became particularly dangerous, the adversaries paused, like Alpinists about to assail a tricky rock face, to test the strength of the ropes which keep them from falling to their death.

Korea is an extreme example of this kind of war, for the fighting there has been real and continuous and in consequence the opportunities for political maneuvering have been slight. Iran offers a more inviting field of action. In Iran as in other sensitive spots in the Middle East, the Russians have needed only to wait—without making any openly hostile move—until mounting nationalism played into their hands. Although under the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Iranian-Russian treaty of 1921 the Russians could occupy the northern half of Iran if the British sent troops into the southern half, Moscow did not even threaten to take such action. Politically, it had more to gain by letting Iranian nationalism spend itself against the "colonial power," and by exploiting the hatred of the West that would be created in the whole Moslem world. Economically, it had only to let the inevitable course of events deprive the West of one of its principal sources of oil. Even if not a gallon of this oil went to Russia, the Soviet victory, in both the political and the economic sphere, would be considerable.

The British have also shown commendable restraint, and though they have sent a cruiser to Abadan, seem determined to avoid any step that might lead to hostilities—in spite of jingoist demands, like that of the *Daily Telegraph* last Thursday, for military intervention even if it should bring Russia into Iran.

THE "marginal war" has been going on in Germany for some time. But in all their agitation for German unity and their opposition to West German rearmament the Russians have been careful not to get themselves into the situation created by their blockade of Berlin. The Western powers have backed and filled about their plans for a German army. At the Brussels conference held in December, 1950, with Acheson, Bevin, and Schuman attending, it was decided that the remilitarization of Germany so long envisioned should be temporarily shelved. In Bonn, the Allied High Commissioners—John J. McCloy, François-Poncet, and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick—reflected the fear of their governments to push the matter too vigorously lest they provoke a reaction from Moscow, in the form, for example, of an ultimatum to Paris and London based on Russia's existing treaties with France and England—a possibility that always remains open.

In the last week or so, since the conference in the Palais Rose was broken off, the remilitarization of Germany is again on the carpet. Encouraged by the failure of the Big Four deputies to reach an agreement, Bonn has become more exigent. It now demands a minimum army of twelve divisions (300,000 men) and equal authority with the other nations of Western Europe. Washington, according to the Paris *Monde*, is already thinking of twenty-five divisions. The French, in compliance with American suggestions, seem inclined to accept German divisions of 10,000 men instead of the 6,000 they had previously set as the limit.

In the economic sphere the "marginal war" is being fought over the raw materials which are vital for rearmament programs. Senator Kem of Missouri thinks indirect aid to the countries of the "enemy" bloc could be prevented by passage of his bill cutting off all American financial support from countries which export to the Soviet area any of the long list of commodities compiled by the E. C. A. President Truman, in agreement with the National Security Council, realizes that the weapon Senator Kem would provide is two-edged; it could be turned against the United States and its European allies, not to mention its effect on Asia. For its rubber and tin Southeast Asia obtains from the Communist bloc automobiles, locomotives, zinc, manganese, and copper. Last year Western Europe received ten million tons of coal from Poland.

Moreover, the latest statistics on international trade show that the Western world is beginning to experience a shortage of raw materials. In 1950 the world's industrial production was 60 per cent higher than in 1937-38, while the production of raw materials had risen only 34 per cent. The struggle for raw materials is intensifying every year; the Western allies are even quarreling over them among themselves, as the resignation of Aneurin Bevan dramatically demonstrated. This issue plays an important part in the "marginal war."

In certain ways the countries of the Soviet group are better situated than the West to carry on wars over side issues. While the West has the advantage in production, industrial techniques, and wealth, the Soviet governments can pursue their ends without regard to what anybody thinks—they have no Congress or pressure groups to worry about—and can employ a strategy of alternately advancing and retreating without so much risk of burning their fingers. They have greater freedom of action, too, in the field of psychological warfare.

Some time ago in these pages I challenged Arnold Toynbee's theory that the cold war might go on for thirty years. It came to an end in June, 1950, in Korea. Like the cold war, the "marginal war" cannot continue indefinitely without Asia, the Middle East, and Europe —regardless of the wishes of the leaders of the two blocs—bursting into flame.

Through an accidental omission, my article, Voice of Humanity, in the issue of June 23 gave a wrong impression of the contribution of the United States to the U. N. International Children's Emergency Fund. I reported that the United States had "furnished the money required to start the work, $15,000,000 in 1947, and recently gave another $5,000,000." The total amount so far given by the United States is actually $75,000,000, including the $20,000,000 mentioned. Later on, in another article on the constructive activities of the United Nations, I hope to discuss in greater detail the excellent work of the UNICEF.

[*After this week Mr. del Vayo will be on vacation for a month. Early in August he will leave for Europe to cover the various activities of the United Nations there, including the General Assembly, which meets next October in Paris.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Footnote to Taft-Hartley

BY ALEINE AUSTIN

FOUR years ago, when the Taft-Hartley act became law, labor leaders predicted that it would "destroy labor unions, degrade living standards, and cripple basic rights." Until the recent appearance of a preliminary report by the majority of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, headed by Senator James E. Murray, little substantial confirmation of this prediction had been made public. The report, however, presents some extremely provocative information on the effect of Taft-Hartley and exposes the "concerted opposition to union organization and collective bargaining" in the Southern textile industry.

One of the cases investigated by the subcommittee was an attempt to organize the American Thread Company's mill in Tallapoosa, Georgia, which employed 500 of the town's 2,000 residents. Dissatisfied with conditions, several employees of the company wrote the Textile Workers' Union (C. I. O.) for assistance in forming a union. Mrs. Edna Martin was assigned the job and visited the town twice a week for the purpose.

The repercussions were immediate. Mill supervisors and anti-union employees threatened union sympathizers with loss of their jobs, getting into trouble, being run out of town. Excuses were found for discharging the two leading union advocates. Wherever union sympathizers congregated, they were spied upon by the company watchman, who had conveniently been deputized as a part-time city policeman. According to the testimony of a worker from nearby Cedartown, the personnel manager of the Tallapoosa mill asked him to point out the C. I. O. organizers in Cedartown, so that they could be "put out" of Tallapoosa if they came there.

Mrs. Martin, the organizer, now rented a room in Tallapoosa, planning to remain there several weeks. On the first night four men armed with shotguns and five women burst into her room. With curses and threats the mob bound and gagged her, took her for a harrowing ride through rough back roads, and finally left her in a deserted lane, warning, "Don't ever come back to Tallapoosa or you will be shot on sight."

The union thereupon filed charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board, on the ground that the kidnapping of Mrs. Martin was an "unfair labor practice" traceable to the employer. The Taft-Hartley act, like its predecessor the Wagner act, declares that it shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to form, join, or assist labor organizations. If the board finds an employer guilty of an unfair labor practice, it orders him to post a notice in his factory stating that he will stop interfering with his workers' right to engage in union activities.

Under the Wagner act, the board, in all likelihood, would have found the employer guilty in this case, for the Wagner act defined the term "employer" as including "any person *acting in the interest of an employer*, directly or indirectly." But the Taft-Hartley act had redefined the term "employer" to include "any person *acting as an agent of an employer*, directly or indirectly." Applying this definition, the board ruled that the American Thread Company was in no way responsible for the kidnapping, since the abductors had not been proved to be agents of the company. In other words, while professing to protect the workers' right to organize, the Taft-Hartley act permits kidnapping and other forms of coercion and interference as long as there is no legal proof that the acts are committed by agents of the employer. Commenting on this section of the law, the subcommittee's majority report states:

> . . . this requirement that the technical relationship of agency must be established before the acts of subordinates can be imputed to an employer is highly unrealistic in the law of labor-management relations. It disregards the incalculable economic pressure which an employer can exert upon his employees without provable words and acts. . . . the employer's approval of anti-labor acts can be manifested in so many and in such subtle ways that his influence on the conduct of his employees can be exerted without leaving admissible evidence. . . . The narrowly amended definition of "employer," therefore, is an invitation to the recalcitrant anti-labor employer to evade the intent of Congress.

The section points up one of the basic differences between the Wagner act and the Taft-Hartley act. The Wagner act was designed to guarantee workers the right to form unions and bargain collectively. Recognizing the dependence of unorganized workers on their employers, it sought to equalize the contest between them by restricting the latter from interfering with, restraining, or coercing employees in their right to engage in union activities. One of the ostensible purposes of the Taft-Hartley act also is to guarantee workers the right to form unions, but its sponsors refused to recognize the obvious domination exercised by employers over their workers. On the pretense of protecting the rights of

ALEINE AUSTIN is the author of "The Labor Story," a history of the trade-union movement in America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employers, the Taft-Hartley act watered down the restrictions on them to such an extent that it restored their incontestable supremacy over their employees.

The employer's supremacy is further reinforced by the act's "free speech" clause, which permits him to express any "views, argument, or opinion" as long as "such expression contains no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit." Under the Wagner act also the employer had the right to express his views, arguments, and opinions, but the question whether his remarks amounted to anti-union interference was judged not solely by their content, as required by this provision of the Taft-Hartley act, but in the light of all the facts and circumstances surrounding their delivery. The effect of ignoring the atmosphere in which an employer expresses his views is seen in the board's ruling on a speech made by the superintendent of the American Thread Company's Tallapoosa mill at a meeting of the employees. The superintendent said:

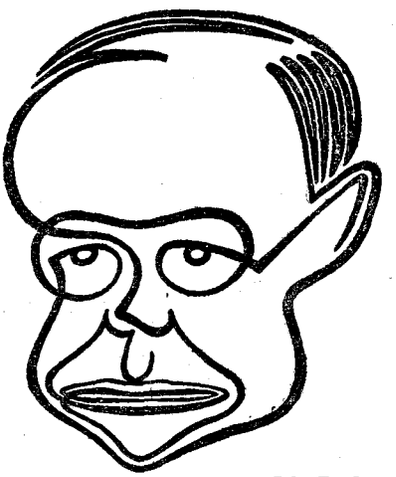
> We have a nice little mill here, but someone or something is fixing to come in and tear up your playhouse. This outside influence is just a bunch of pot-bellied Yankees with big cigars in their mouths, and the dues they collect will just go up North, and you should want to keep your money in Tallapoosa. If they come in, you will share the same rest rooms with Negroes and work side by side with them. It comes right out of Russia and is pure communism and nothing else.

This speech was made in the midst of kidnapping, espionage, and discharges by an employer upon whom the residents of Tallapoosa depended for their jobs, but the board ruled that "although anti-union [it was] not violative of the act"; the words themselves contained "no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit."

ANOTHER revealing case, showing how the Taft-Hartley act can break an existing union, involved a strike of the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union against the American Enka Corporation in Morristown, Tennessee. Six weeks after the strike began, the company obtained an injunction limiting the number of pickets to six and prohibiting the strikers from congregating in groups of more than two within one-quarter mile of the plant. This accomplished, it was able to start an effective back-to-work movement, with the sheriff escorting an automobile convoy of strike-breakers from the area into the plant. Disturbances followed, although there were relatively few considering the provocation. Immediately, however, 60 state highway patrolmen were assigned to the strike, and were soon joined by 391 members of the National Guard. According to the subcommittee report, "The situation in this strike was further aggravated by brutal, unlawful, and completely inexcusable behavior on the part of National Guard men, state highway patrolmen, and sheriff's deputies."

If the employees still had any doubt that American Enka was trying to break their union, they were soon convinced. The company announced that it had received a telegram from the United Textile Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) requesting recognition as the workers' bargaining representative in the plant. This, the company claimed, precluded any further bargaining with the C. I. O. union on the terms of a contract, since a Taft-Hartley ruling prohibited bargaining and conclusion of an agreement where a question of representation existed.

How, then, was the question of representation to be settled? By an NLRB election, of course. And who was to vote in this election? One would assume that all the workers would vote—those who replaced the strikers and those who still remained on strike. That, at least, is how it worked under the Wagner act. But the Taft-Hartley act provides: "Employees on strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall not be eligible to vote." Since economic strikers are not entitled to reinstatement, this clause disqualified a majority of the Enka strikers from voting. A more perfect way to destroy a union would be difficult to find. In fact, the report says:



Senator Taft — John Reed

> The effect of that doctrine on the American Enka Case is obviously that since the back-to-work movement had replaced the strikers, the old union would be ousted, and the competing union, which had had no valid interest in the plant prior to the dispute, would emerge victorious from any election. Under such circumstances as these the doctrine would convert the ultimate exercise of economic strength by the union, the strike, into a suicidal weapon.

This case emphasizes still another important feature of the Taft-Hartley act—its sanction for the revival of injunctions in labor disputes. It will be noticed that the company gained its first advantage over the union when it obtained an injunction from the court limiting the number of pickets to six. "Up to this time," the report comments, "the strike was strictly a dispute between American Enka and the Textile Workers' Union. . . . When the company secured its injunctions, this picture was immediately transformed, and the law-enforcement authorities necessarily became partisans on the side of the company." While this particular injunction was not granted under the auspices of the Taft-Hartley act, its issuance, nevertheless, is attributable to the influence of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the act, which empowers the NLRB to obtain injunctions prohibiting unions from engaging in mass picketing or secondary boycotts, and empowers the Attorney General to obtain injunctions ordering unions to end strikes called during a national emergency. With the use of injunctions thus sanctioned by federal law, the state courts are again freely intervening in labor disputes.

These cases highlight only a few of the salient features of the Taft-Hartley act, but they make it clear that labor's fears were not unfounded. Indeed, the subcommittee's report concluded that "the Labor-Management Relations Act and its administration are not effective to insure and properly implement the right of self-organization. In spite of its provisions, and by ingenious adherence to some of them, employers may commit the most serious unfair labor practices, and no agency of the federal government can effectively prevent, restrain, or punish them."

No Reds in Mill Valley

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON THE morning of April 12 the weekly Mill Valley *Record* (circulation 2,636) of Marin County, California, appeared in a new red dress. A scarlet scare head directed readers to the back page, where a flamboyant announcement invited community participation in the *Record's* "red movement." At one side of the page a large cleated foot, squarely and strategically applied, hoisted a "Communist" high into the air. In the accompanying text the *Record* outlined a plan to cleanse Mill Valley of the "local Commies" who had earned for it the name of "a little Kremlin." A collection would be taken to provide one-way transportation to Russia for all "those who feel that the Soviet government should be a model for our own." Lacking takers, the *Record* would turn the fund over to the city for a war memorial.

Similar movements have been started in a number of communities. But most of the "send-'em-back-where-they-came-from" campaigns have been spawned in isolated areas so barren of social charm—"godforsaken" is the word—that local vigilantism, of word or deed, is more or less endemic and can be charitably explained as a symptom of boredom. Mill Valley (population 8,000) is one of the most beautiful suburbs in America. A haven for commuters nine miles north of San Francisco, it has attracted many intellectuals; and as might be expected, the presence of the intellectuals has given rise to the local phrase, "Mill Valley is full of reds."

Community reaction to the *Record's* proposal, which was said to have been inspired by a Hearst columnist, was at first apathetic: in a week less than ten dollars was collected. The prevailing view, in fact, seemed to be that if the editor wanted to make a fool of himself, that was his privilege. Clearly something had to be done to arouse Mill Valley's civilized commuters to the perils of tolerance and neighborliness. In a desperate effort to save its proposal from the ridicule of silence, the *Record* induced the acting mayor to proclaim a city-wide observance of "Red Movement Week"—which the mayor had previously refused to do. At the next meeting of the town council, however, fifty residents were on hand to condemn the idea. A local minister read a letter signed by a group of well-known persons which pointed out that the campaign would tend to encourage hysteria, that it implied impotence on the part of the duly constituted authorities, and that it aped totalitarian methods. Not a single communication was read in favor of the proposal, and no one spoke up in its defense. Nevertheless, the council, by a vote of three to one, upheld the issuance of the proclamation, with Councilman George Strawbridge entering a vigorous dissent.

ON THE face of it democracy had suffered a mild setback in Mill Valley. But public opinion is formed there as elsewhere more by the impact of events and the collision of social forces than by abstract debate. Once the council had acted, the letter columns of the *Record* were filled with protests. Arthur K. Smart objected on the ground that we must extend tolerance even to authoritarians, who "certainly would not treat us with equal tolerance." Another resident thought the proposal was about as silly as flag-pole sitting and far more dangerous, since it implied that those who refused to send in their contributions were "disloyal." Dr. R. B. Hartman wrote that if the community wanted to raise money for a war memorial it should not do so in a way that was likely to arouse misunderstanding and suspicion. Bruce E. Sloan protested against "the sickly fear" that the proposal reflected. Clarence M. Wolcott thought that the American tradition was "outraged by these smart-aleck, publicity-wise actions," and Glenn T. Shattuck confessed that he took a pretty dim view of "tolerant intolerance." "A shoddy banner," said Phyllis Hogan. "A sad commentary on the responsibilities of modern newspaper editing," chided Mrs. Frank Holsinger. While Dr. Harry A. Overstreet—probably

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

making notes for a revised edition of "The Mature Mind"—entered an appropriately mature objection but carefully upheld the editor's right to advance this or any other proposal without the risk of a boycott. The Communist Party, of course, sent in a labored protest. Only three or four letters of commendation were received.

Obviously disturbed, the *Record* was finally driven to publish a defense. The editor furiously berated "the intellectuals" of America for "debating on the steps of the scaffold." In his view we "would do better to worry less about the loss of our liberties and turn our attention to the lot of our fellow-man, lest he turn on us and destroy us . . . we must end this wearying debate between the liberals and the conservatives and bridge the gap which the Communists are doing their best to widen." The editorial closed with unintentional irony: "There is a dangerous amount of disunity here today!" A week or so later, however, the editor was saying that if readers of the *Record* would only reread his original proposal they would see that "the sole purpose" had been to raise money for a war memorial. And wasn't it perfectly clear that the proposal had served at least one laudable end by having warned the community of the danger of communism? The community must have regarded the explanation as rather feeble, for the contributions did not increase.

The incident is disturbing for a number of reasons, one being that it reveals a tendency to castigate "intellectuals," a disposition to put reason aside. Where was all this last said? It can hardly be denied that there is disagreement if not disunity in America today, but what are the causes? Disagreement over policy? Lack of clarity as to aims and purposes? In any case it is hard to see how this "wearying debate" between liberals and conservatives, which has been going on for some decades now, can be summarily concluded.

Happily the American people have the faculty of forming fairly sensible judgments after they have taken a close second look at situations which have momentarily confused them. The extremists are always the first to speak and thus enjoy an initial advantage, but the final verdict is seldom reached until the delayed reaction of more moderate elements has been registered. An active participant in Mill Valley's opposition to "Red Movement Week" tentatively scores the results as follows: the movement was a failure because the independent elements refused to be driven to either extreme; the local newspaper probably achieved its immediate purpose of increasing circulation but failed to improve its reputation as a reliable means of communication; the middle-of-the-road elements demonstrated that they might win on other issues, including some now being lost by default in many communities, if they would only speak out with similar timeliness and candor. Mill Valley provides a relevant commentary on the current American jitters.

We Can Forfeit Freedom

BY MARGARET CHASE SMITH

ONE of the basic causes of the trouble in the world today is that people talk too much and think too little. Don't misunderstand me. I'm not advocating that we become mutes, with our voices stilled, because of fear of criticism of what we might say. That is moral cowardice. And moral cowardice that keeps us from speaking our minds is as dangerous to this country as irresponsible talk. I urge you to think well and deeply before you talk—but once you have made up your mind, don't hesitate to speak your mind. As long as you speak your mind, dictators and demagogues will never take control of this country.

There will always be demagogues—and there must always be people with enough moral courage to stand up and speak out against demagogues, and expose and defeat them, before they get so many unthinking people swallowing their untruthful propaganda that our country is surrendered to them.

The importance of individual thinking to the preservation of our democracy and our freedom cannot be overemphasized. But when we use the word "think," what do we mean? To "think" is to exercise the faculty of judgment, conception, or inference—to put our common sense into action. When the German people defaulted their thinking to Hitler, they surrendered their freedom. When the Russian people defaulted their thinking to Lenin and Stalin, they surrendered their freedom.

Too few people in this country realize how many people in this country are defaulting their thinking to demagogues and that we are closer to surrendering our freedom than most of us are willing to admit. When we accept the statements of demagogues because we are too lazy to think about them, and test them, we can blame no one but ourselves for subsequent events.

It is the articulate majority that rules a democracy. But the articulate majority does not always represent the real majority. Quite often the minority by "thinking out loud" makes itself the practical, effective majority.

The most precious thing that democracy gives to us is freedom. You and I cannot escape the fact that the ultimate responsibility for freedom is personal. Our freedoms today are in danger not so much because people are consciously trying to take them away from us as because we forget to use them. Freedom unexercised may become freedom forfeited. The preservation of freedom is in the hands of the people themselves—not of the government.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH is United States Senator from Maine. This column consists of excerpts from a speech she delivered at the Hood College Convocation, on April 21.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

How to Combat Inflation

DEFENSE WITHOUT INFLATION. By Albert G. Hart. With Recommendations of the Committee on Economic Stabilization. The Twentieth Century Fund. $2.

IN THE discussion of inflation in recent months and of means to control it too many of the participants have been inclined to claim exclusive virtue for the particular line of action they prefer and to ignore or even decry other lines of attack. Many who have urged strong monetary and tax measures have argued against direct controls; not a few have asserted that inflation can be prevented only by increased production; without doubt there are many who have come to identify the control of inflation with the control of prices.

In this admirable book Professor Hart —he is professor of economics at Columbia—not only rejects but, by example, rebukes such parochialism. He believes that inflation can be prevented and that it must be prevented if the country is to arm with reasonable efficiency and if meanwhile the elementary decencies of economic and social life are to be preserved. But he also believes that the whole armory of anti-inflation weapons must be used. Crude proposals to expand production at whatever investment outlay apart, there is none of the conventional remedies in which the author does not see merit and none which he supposes to be sufficient in itself.

Reflecting a majority view of economists, he accords a major role to tax policy, and among taxes he would rely first of all on the personal income tax. He does give a good deal of attention to excises, especially as a device for discouraging consumption of goods that are closely competitive with military needs. He is also strongly attracted by the British purchase tax, with its differentially high rates on the more elaborate and expensive types of goods of any particular kind. Such a tax guides production toward lower-priced and simpler lines of goods, where the efficiency in labor and material use is likely to be greatest. If military requirements permit the continued manufacture of only a limited number of automobiles, the maximum of transportation will be obtained by concentrating on lower-priced models.

The reader will also get from Professor Hart a lucid discussion of the subtleties of monetary policy, and if he is a confessed layman, he can be assured that it is a very well-balanced one. The author accords an important place to so-called selective credit controls—those on consumer credit and housing finance—and he believes that both bank-reserve policy and general public-debt management can be more astringent than in the past. On the other hand he does not advocate any very substantial increase in interest rates, and he gives little comfort to those who want to believe that inflation can be prevented by monetary sleight-of-hand.

Professor Hart believes that direct controls are necessary, a conclusion which follows from his diagnosis of the inflation problem. In the classical view of inflation an excess of demand pulls up prices; accordingly taxation and the control of credit, if they are sufficient to counter this pull, should be sufficient to check inflation. However, Professor Hart also stresses the "cost-shoving" of wage and raw-materials movements when the economy is in an inflationary phase, and these, he believes, can be restrained only by direct controls.

The scope of the author's discussion and recommendations being what they are, any review of this book gives an exceptionally poor view of the ground covered. This may not be too serious, for anyone who really wants a full look at the problem of inflation will read the whole book. It is by a wide margin the best current document on the subject.

The book also includes a statement on inflation policy by four distinguished economists—Professors Clark of Columbia, Schultz of Chicago, Smithies of Harvard, and Wallace of Princeton—who form the Twentieth Century Fund's Committee on Economic Stabilization. In the main the recommendations parallel those of Professor Hart, although the committee is more reserved on the matter of direct controls, and one of its members, Professor Schultz, dissents generally from their use.

J. K. GALBRAITH

Two First Novels

THE SEASON OF THE STRANGER. By Stephen Becker. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE ISLAND IN TIME. By Ernst Pawel. Doubleday and Company. $3.

THESE two noteworthy first novels, by young writers of strikingly different backgrounds, are both concerned with the efforts of Americans of good will to understand and come to terms with foreign cultures. Mr. Becker is a twenty-five-year-old American who went to China to teach and to observe the coming of communism to the Orient. Mr. Pawel is a thirty-year-old European who came to this country as a youth and returned to Europe as a sergeant during the war. Both are serious writers, worthy of attention not only because of their potentialities but for what they have already accomplished.

Mr. Becker's hero is a young American, Andrew Girard, of gentle disposition and kindly temperament, living to the best of his ability as a Chinese among his Chinese students. Girard's sweetheart, Li-ling, is the daughter of a wealthy and utterly corrupt industrialist who disowns his daughter for giving herself to a Westerner but who attempts to bargain with Girard as the Communist armies draw closer to the university town. The father, a standardized villain, represents all that is decadent and evil in the old regime, while the bright young students who cluster around Girard symbolize the new spirit stirring in China; they are balanced by Girard's servant, Wang-li, who got along under the old regime and is ready to adapt himself to the new.

Mr. Becker has not attempted to probe beyond the surface motivations of his leading figures. Instead, he has concentrated upon a portrait of China in flux, as it looked to a sensitive and compassionate young American; the roman-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tic attractiveness of as yet unconsolidated Chinese communism is apparent throughout. Writing a grave, contemplative, and sweet—if mannered—prose, Mr. Becker succeeds strikingly in conveying the look and the atmosphere of a segment of China as it awaited the advancing Red Army. His good people look forward with hope and eagerness to the coming of their "liberators"; their response to the realities of Communist rule lies beyond the scope of this book, for Mr. Becker's story ends with Girard's betrayal by his sweetheart's father even as the Communists are entering the city.

"The Season of the Stranger" is not a profoundly realized work, but it is dotted with memorable scenes that demonstrate quite sharply Mr. Becker's genuine literary gift.

Mr. Pawel's young American is Sidney Rubin, New York boy, college professor, and UNRRA official, drinking his heart out at a displaced-persons camp in southern Italy. Rubin, the solitary drinker who despises his wards for their inability to assimilate democratic concepts even though he goes off to Palestine with them at the break-up of the camp, is the only not quite believable figure in a gallery of brilliant portraits.

The camp, "The Island in Time," is seen through the loveless eyes of Rene Lishinsky, sophisticated and cynical German-Jewish journalist, who observes Sidney Rubin as well as his fellow camp inmates and his mistress with a cold dispassion that conceals the terrible fear of love and comradeship of the eternal wanderer. Factions are formed, terrorists scheme to blow up a British consulate, Rene's mistress leaves him for the Palestinian Zionist organizer, but in the end Rene—who did not want to belong, who wanted to be a Jew, an outcast—watches his fellow DP's joyously marching off to Israel and goes off by himself down an Italian road, suitcase in hand, because "there is no room in Palestine for Jews."

Mr. Pawel's entire conception parallels very closely that of Alex Comfort's recent novel "On This Side Nothing," but whereas Dr. Comfort was attempting from the outside a poetic and allegorical interpretation of a rootless Jew who could no longer feel at one even with other Jews, Mr. Pawel's novel is bitingly realistic, and far more impressive not merely in its rendition of the ugliness of camp life but also in its philosophic depth, maturity, and handling of individual characters.

We are informed that although this is Mr. Pawel's third novel, it is the first that has succeeded in finding a publisher. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that like a true artist Mr. Pawel has been working in silence, perfecting his craft. Even if it were not the case that he is writing in a language which is not his mother tongue it would be hard to overpraise this exciting novel, which has the cold fire and the passionate disillusion which we find in the writings of Albert Camus. "The Island in Time" is a distinguished novel and an auspicious beginning of a literary career. HARVEY SWADOS

The Great Divide

POLITICAL REALISM AND POLITICAL IDEALISM. By John H. Herz. University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

IN THE recent past many signs have pointed to the inadequacy of the traditional right-left characterization of political life. The trusty arc of opinion shadings has been converted into a circle. To "democracy" the redundant adjective "popular" has been appended, with results reminiscent of Voltaire's remark about the Holy Roman Empire. With different results liberals have affixed the question-begging term "real" to their title. In many parts of the world revolutionary shoes are filled by reactionary ghosts; in the United States the Middle West talks like Wall Street. If death and taxes still remain, one hoary veteran is not so solid: the South has gone Republican. Everywhere whirl is king, and not to be shaken from his throne by cries against confusing propaganda. However exaggerated by rival claims, the confusion is real. Even the objective analyst will fail to comprehend political forces by simply sorting out right from left.

Under these circumstances a new system of classification is required. To the synthesis of such a standard John Herz of Howard University has recently devoted some effort. "The following pages," he writes in his introduction, "do not purport to represent another political theory or to add another history of political thought to those which already exist. They represent rather an attempt to describe and analyze some basic types of political thinking which to the author seem to recur again and again throughout history quite independent of, and indeed without any relation to, specific periods or details of particular systems and ideologies." In the typology which Mr. Herz constructs to distribute these basic types the crucial distinction divides Political Realism and Political Idealism. Unlike Karl Mannheim's similar distinction between Ideology and Utopia, where the two types of thought cloak special interests, Mr. Herz's distinction, in keeping with later fashions, derives from a "crudely psychological base." Man, he holds, is stricken with two conflicting urges. The first, and most basic, is the desire to prolong his life, which, given the fact that Cain may kill his brother, begets the suspicion that other men are potential enemies. The instinct for survival thus comes to mean a drive for preponderant strength. The second urge, opposed to this drive, is "a basic feeling of pity or compassion that is provoked by the observance of the suffering of another human being." In their separate ways these two sentiments produce "the rise of the basically opposed political and social ideas and action of men." On the one hand, Political Realism "character-

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
Just Arrived! MIKHAIL BUBENOV
White Birch Prize Winner Novel
In English — 578 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

izes that type of political thought which recognizes and takes into consideration the implications for political life of those security and power factors which are inherent in human society." Political Idealism, on the other hand, is characteristic of that type of political thinking which does not recognize the problems arising from the security and power dilemma of kill or perish. It rather tends to concentrate on the realization of a theoretically established harmony between groups and individuals. And it assumes that once harmony is established, once the great divide is crossed, all competitive instincts and devices will wither away.

In the past great movements have been inspired by the idealist vision of harmony. Theories of democracy, aristocracy, nationalism, internationalism, free trade, and economic collectivism have all been launched under its auspices. But the great divide has never been crossed. Every one of the inspired movements has run aground on the shoals of competitive security; the wreck of broken hopes later manned by those Political Realists who, dead to hope, were at least alive to peril. Thus it has happened that each of the world's great ages has returned to hate and death. And in this way the clash "of idealist thought and action with the realist obstacles to their realization constitutes one of the fundamental factors underlying the process of history."

At this point Mr. Herz suddenly breaks off. Having established that the theoretical basis of political opposition is a difference in focus of attention, in the thing worried about, he fails either to refine this insight or to extend it into definite political history. Instead, he stops describing and begins recommending. His aim is to level off the two-phase cycle described above, and to allow coincidental rather than successive scope for the play of both idealism and realism. As might be expected, what he suggests is a fusion. Plucking liberalism out of the idealist bag he adds a touch of realism and emerges with a "realistic liberalism" that seems familiarly close to the homiletic dictum of "moderation in all things." As Mr. Herz has it, realistic liberalism would aim to further liberal ideas, somewhat loosely defined as "individualism and freedom." It would take care not to overlook security problems; in the United States, for example, it would not push the fight for civil rights to the extreme of impeding a war effort. In addition the realistic liberal would seek the further development of those social conditions and constitutional provisions which mitigate "power concentration." Finally he would cock a wary eye at the "opposite danger" to insure that the forces which, in their minority, temporarily represented liberalism should not, when full-grown, threaten liberty.

This, of course, is sanity itself, and to it there is no objection. But unaccompanied by detailed proposals for specific application, the statement of the general principle of moderation constitutes nothing more than an admonition to be "good." In stooping to deliver this recommendation, Mr. Herz dilutes his original plan of analyzing "some basic types of political theory." However suggestive his first chapters may be, the task of formulating a meaningful political classification still wants doing.

JOSEPH KRAFT

From Jerusalem to Rome

THE PILLAR OF FIRE. By Karl Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

"THE PILLAR OF FIRE" tries to explain why a German Jew who had escaped from Hitler and is now a practicing psychiatrist in Montreal became a Roman Catholic. Formal religious conversions among Jews have been comparatively infrequent, as all missionaries since St. Paul have discovered. When they occur they are usually viewed skeptically, often by the converts themselves: Heine is a notable example. Suspicion inevitably attaches itself to any step which improves the social as well as the spiritual status of an individual. The Hitler era has resulted in a richer crop of converts than is generally known, since many crypto-Jews in Europe who escaped extermination by pretending to be Christians subsequently made the change official. Such conversions are self-explanatory, and if there is cause for wonder it is that they were not more numerous.

The case of Karl Stern falls into a different category. He convinces the reader that he is a true convert and not a turncoat, that he saw the light. But Stern is not content with a personal illumination. Being neither an early Nazarene nor a medieval mystic but a modern Jew, a scientist by training, he is not wholly at ease out of Zion. As a former Zionist he is tormentingly conscious of what he calls the "traitor complex"—particularly acute in a Jew who abandons a beleaguered people as well as a faith. A Jew, unlike other converts, is a deserter as well as an apostate, mourned by the religious as a lost soul and despised by the irreligious Jew as a national traitor.

Stern knows all this, and he writes a very moving *apologia pro vita sua,* but the mystery remains. Granted the existence of a genuine religious impulse, the infidel still cannot understand why Protestants like Heywood Broun or Jews like Henri Bergson or Franz Werfel must change to believe. Of course there is no lack of rational explanations for the supra-rational. Stern as a psychoanalyst is well aware that his childhood experiences were such as to condition him against Judaism. The middle-class German-Jewish household in which he was brought up was so emancipated from Jewish tradition that even the grandfather, the traditional bulwark of orthodoxy, mocked ritual observances. Attempts to provide religious instruction were half-hearted and unattractive. The small Jewish community in the Bavarian town of his birth had no synagogue; services were held in a prayer hall rented from a brewery, and the sound of psalms became inextricably interwoven with the smell of beer. Later Stern's religious instructor was a "hateful cantor" whose memory remained no more appetizing than that of the brewery.

The home offered no compensation for these aesthetic and emotional lacks. The parental faith consisted of what the author describes as an "amiable mixture of political liberalism, Goethe's 'Noble be man, helpful and good,' and Lessing's conciliatory Deism." Festive moments were provided by Christian holidays such as Christmas, when the family gathered around a Christmas tree while the mother sang "Silent Night." The boy was sent to a Catholic kindergarten conducted by amiable nuns whom the author obviously remembers more ten-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derly than the hateful cantor. Except for the Catholic kindergarten, this represents a modern Jewish pattern by no means uncommon in pre-Hitler Bavaria or in post-Hitler United States. Such a childhood may be the prelude to a mechanical continuation of a tenuous attachment, to assimilation without benefit of apocalypse, or even to an intensified Jewish national consciousness. Stern's brother became a member of a labor commune in Palestine. But Stern had a vocation. He rebelled against "the colorless goodness, the peculiar anemia deprived of the red blood of Jewish tradition." To the disgust of his grandfather and the alarm of his mother, who thought he had gone mad, he tried orthodoxy: he put on prayer shawl and phylacteries, and insisted on kosher food. The phase did not last long. The combination of family ridicule and the difficulty of observing a complicated ritual proved too taxing.

When the growth of Nazism made Zionism a vital issue for German Jewish youth, Stern became involved in the activities of Zionist youth groups but "saw once more that a national solution of the Jewish problem was no solution at all if it was not at the same time a religious one." Why not then Mizrachi, the religious Zionists? The answer is not to be found in the deficiencies of the orthodox groups but rather in the fact that the writer had long ago been won elsewhere—perhaps in the Catholic kindergarten. For when Stern, while continuing his work as a Rockefeller fellow at the German Institute of Psychiatry at Munich, finally found in Amos and Isaiah the spiritual sustenance he had long sought, the discovery of the Messianic vision of Judaism only led him to the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah.

It is here that the reader parts company with him. When as a refugee in London Stern declares that only a belief "in Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God," made the martyrdom of millions of innocent Jewish sufferers intelligible, because the "suffering of Christ includes all human suffering," the reviewer is no longer on arguable territory, and Stern's attempts to clarify are hardly relevant. No matter how persuasively and movingly he points out the inadequacies of science or socialist materialism, the conclusion—the final leap—remains inexplicable and solitary.

Yet Stern wants desperately to be understood, particularly by the brother in Israel living in a cooperative community not far from Lake Genezareth. In a special chapter addressed to his brother, Stern writes: "You see the paradox. You live apparently on the basis of an a-religious philosophy, a life which corresponds to what my religion teaches me. I, on the other hand, live in a setting which makes life in accordance with the precepts of a Judaeo-Christian morality a questionable and problematic task." He assures the friends of his Zionist youth: "Should I ever forget thee, Jerusalem. . . . Oh, how I should like to be able to see them once more, my friends of those days, and tell them the story of a journey which seems to have taken me infinitely far away from them but in reality has led me right into their midst."

The "friends" struggling in Israel will not accept this declaration. If they are charitable they will offer a diagnosis of unconscious escapism rather than conscious betrayal. Rabbis in the United States will deliver innumerable sermons on the need for a sound Jewish education providing décor of ritual as well as sincerity of observance. Catholics have already expressed their approval by bestowing the Christopher Award on "The Pillar of Fire." Many an ax will be ground, but whatever the judgment, the book must be accepted as a profound and moving document. It may not reveal the divine but it casts light on the mortal suffering of the modern Jew and the despairing perplexity of modern man.

MARIE SYRKIN

Palimpsest of History

FABLED SHORE. From the Pyrenees to Portugal by Road. By Rose Macaulay. Farrar, Straus and Young. $4.

IT IS a long, long time since anyone has had the courage to write or to publish a travel book about Spain. So tense and so pervasive has been the interest in its social and political affairs that people have almost forgotten the visual qualities of the country itself. This year, when non-political tourists are timidly putting Spain back on their travel schedules, Farrar and Straus have been moved to publish Rose Macaulay's account of her motor trip down the Mediterranean coast and around the famous Gibraltar corner.

For anyone who has traveled even a part of that coast, by whatever conveyance, this is a book of extraordinary charm. Miss Macaulay went alone down the difficult small roads, stopping to swim in beguiling blue bays, savoring the delight of sharp headlands and hidden villages. When inns did not appear at spots where guidebooks placed them she blew up something called a *lilo* (sleeping bag? air mattress?) and slept beside her car, unguarded and unmolested. Her rich and varied prose serves her well in painting the beauty of the country, the wealth of its past, the varied detail of her experience in it.

What many have forgotten, in the anguish of the civil war and the exhaustion that followed, is what the author calls gratefully back to mind: "History in Spain lies like a palimpsest. . . . Ghosts from a hundred pasts rise from the same grave, fighting one another still; dig a little deeper, dig below the Moor to the Goth, below the Goth to the Roman, Greek, Phoenician, and in the end you get back to the Spanish, who were there before history began, and will be there after history, defeated and routed at last by this strange land, dissolves in impenetrable mists."

Wisely, Miss Macaulay omits political comment. One reads the signs of too little food and two few schools. Yet even these are not new curses. Travelers in other days will find familiar her accounts of the ragged children that swarmed about her footsteps. Apparently nothing that has occurred since 1928 has changed the Spanish child's belief that "foreigners are big game, to be stalked with immense excitement and unwearied pertinacity."

Just which summer the author made the trip she does not say. The book is dated 1949, and apparently it was published in Britain before it reached the United States. It is the sort of leisurely account which everyone fortunate enough to make this kind of a trip would like to have written. The next best thing is to go hand in hand with Miss Macaulay from one's library chair.

MILDRED ADAMS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Brief

A SOLDIER'S STORY. By Omar N. Bradley. Holt. $5. It should be said at once that this is an extraordinarily interesting book—perhaps the best of the military memoirs to come out of the last war. It is dedicated to "those soldiers who must often have wondered why they were going where they did. Perhaps this will help answer their questions." It does precisely this by its skilful reporting of the constantly shifting scene at Bradley's headquarters; the planning, the personalities, the decisions and the reasons for the decisions, and the results. Much of the sense of participation that the book gives comes from the generous use of direct quotations—a particularly useful device in pointing up the candid character sketches in which the book excels.

THE GENERAL WHO MARCHED TO HELL. By Earl Schenck Miers. Knopf. $4.50. The story of Sherman's march to the sea told in a pastiche of quotations from contemporary letters, journals, and records, bound together with a connecting narrative. A pleasantly readable book, florid in style and somewhat meager as a picture of General Sherman, but with quotations that compensate by their fine sense of immediacy.

INTER-RACIAL HOUSING. By Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins. Minnesota. $3. A study of racial attitudes in low-cost housing projects in which Negroes and whites are separated and in those in which they live together as neighbors. The authors' conclusions, given in the depressing lingo of the psychologist, are all for nonsegregation.

* from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 139 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT ON ALL LP RECORDS
Up to 75% on 78 rpm Records
Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

WRITING that the Festival has brought to London "something that hasn't been felt there for some time: a feeling of joyousness in the streets, of celebration and overt pride in the beauty of the city," Robert E. Garis goes on to say that its concert hall, the Royal Festival Hall, though quite ugly outside, is inside "the most civilized of auditoriums; and the sound, after a year of Albert Hall, almost bowled me over." It doesn't, he explains, have the combination of clarity and warmth that the best halls give, "but the sound is by no means dry, and is very clear and exciting, with an enormous dynamic range which gives entirely new kinds of beauty and power to some pieces. A lot of nonsense has been written about it: the American critic Cecil Smith wrote a blast against the acoustics for an afternoon Beaverbrook tabloid; he elaborated the hall's great fault, a certain lack of richness and glow of sound, into a jazzy piece of total condemnation. I hope he realized that his piece would be used as political propaganda by the Beaverbrook paper. The Tories are considerably saddened even by the Festival's succès d'estime, and will be more than saddened by its probable financial success: therefore the concert hall was worth attacking as a Labor inefficiency; and Beecham of course thundered that it was the worst building ever constructed in England and announced his boycott of the whole affair." I would suspect that Beecham's objection to the hall arose from the fact that originally it was to have been opened by Toscanini conducting Beethoven's Ninth.

Also, having wondered whether there has been a real change in Barbirolli to account for his present eminence in England, I am interested in Mr. Garis's report of a performance of Verdi's Requiem, which makes it clear that Barbirolli is what he was, only more so. "At the scheduled time in comes the concertmaster, greeted with some applause; then about a minute later, deep hush all the while, appear the soloists, mountains of applause. Then a deepest hush for at least a minute and a half, probably more—and Barbirolli. The chorus rises as one man and bows to the maestro, who strolls, duck-like, through his orchestra, bowing right and left to all the first-desk men, mounts the podium, embraces the lucky audience with his knighted arms, many, many times, whirls suddenly, throws an arm out to the cymbalist, and 'God Save the King' is under way. An exhibition of pampered self-delight before which Stokowski might pale, yet a palpable joy to these unbelievable English." And there was the same sensationalism, says Mr. Garis, in the musical content of a performance "with long significant pauses between numbers, much plastic modelling of the sound, much evidence of the greatest care in securing effects, the demonstration par excellence of a great soul at work in his chosen field. A completely lax and inconsistent performance, without any impulse carrying from one note to the next, each phrase milked while you wait and the cow caressed, then simply the next cow."

The outstanding event in recording, as far as I am concerned, is the Columbia recording of Berlioz's "La Damnation de Faust," which has some of his most excitingly beautiful and imaginative—and of course completely original—music, and which one is glad to have even not perfectly sung and reproduced. The Mephistopheles, Paul Cabanel, is excellent; the Marguerite, Mona Laurena, is fair; the Faust, Georges Jouatte, sings with strain and has to have his music altered a couple of times; the Emile Passani Chorus and orchestra are adequate; and except for a Rakoczy March that is unexciting to ears accustomed to its performances by American virtuoso orchestras, the performance conducted by Jean Fournet is good. The LP recording is a dubbing from the 78 rpm recording of a few years back; and the sound it produces is good, but without all the spaciousness and live brilliance of the best LP recording of today, or even of the original 78.

The best LP recording of today is to be heard in Urania's completely uncut "Tristan und Isolde." One hears also the fine Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra conducted by Franz Konwitschny in a slow-moving but never sagging per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formance; a Tristan, Ludwig Suthaus, who sings loudly most of the time but whose robust voice is still agreeably fresh; a good Kurwenal, Karl Wolfram; an excellent Marke, Gottlob Fricke; a Brangäne, Erna Westenberger, whose voice still has enough quality to make its tremolo bearable. Only one thing wrong, but it is enough: the Isolde, Margarete Bäumer, whose voice by now has no quality and is all tremolo. Why after her "Fidelio" performance she is used here again is beyond understanding.

And as if these weren't enough she turns up again as the Princess in Urania's "Der Rosenkavalier." But there is less of her; and the Octavian is Tiana Lemnitz, whose high notes are a little tremulously shrill but whose lower ones are sumptuously beautiful; the Sophie, Ursula Richter, has an exquisite high soprano; the Ochs, Kurt Böhme, does the finest singing I have heard in this part since the days of Bohnen and Mayr; the lesser roles, except the Italian Singer, are sung well enough; the excellent Saxonian State Orchestra plays; and Rudolf Kempe conducts an effective performance which is well reproduced. The listener is confused by a libretto which makes the customary cuts, some of which are restored in the performance. The work itself, I might add, is one that—listening again—I again find vastly overrated. The Presentation of the Rose duet I find lovely; the rest—the Princess's philosophical soliloquies, the third-act trio, the waltzes, the mere hubbub—I consider unworthy of the esteem they enjoy.

CONTRIBUTORS

J. K. GALBRAITH is on the staff of the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University.

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines.

JOSEPH KRAFT, an editorial writer on the Washington *Post*, is writing a book about Alexis de Tocqueville.

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance."

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spain and its culture.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Nation Suit

Slug It Out in Print . . .

Dear Sirs: Generally speaking, I am in accord with the views expressed by Mr. del Vayo in his *Nation* column. In fact, Mr. del Vayo seems to me to be one of the very few persons who is still capable of writing intelligently about foreign policy. By the same token I am strongly opposed to the views, and particularly the attitude, of Mr. Greenberg. Nevertheless, I believe that *The Nation* was wrong in refusing to publish the Greenberg letter and in suing the *New Leader* for publishing it.

I am not expressing any opinion on the legal issues. Nor am I considering the problem of an individual citizen who has been gravely injured by irresponsible smears and has no way to vindicate himself except through a law suit.

The Nation is a publication engaged in the business of discussing public affairs. The letter was written by a former regular contributor and dealt, in general, with important public issues. Under those circumstances it seems to me that *The Nation* should have met the attack in the arena of public discussion rather than by bringing suit. Resort to the courts cut off further argument and, in effect, brought a breakdown in the rational exchange of ideas. I do not think *The Nation* should have been so quick to abandon the basic principle of full discussion to which its long and honorable existence has been devoted.

As a matter of fact, had *The Nation* kept the controversy on the level of public discussion, a valuable purpose might have been served. The Greenberg letter is a perfect illustration of the irrational approach to problems of foreign policy so common in this country today. *The Nation* could have made a searching reply that would have furnished an important object lesson for *Nation* readers.

I realize that the Greenberg letter must be considered in a broad context, and that it represents an increasing tendency to oppose the expression of certain views by appeal to prejudice rather than to reason. This tendency, spearheaded by the Committee on Un-American Activities, constitutes a dangerous threat to the free expression of ideas. Under some circumstances the danger should be combated by libel actions, but not, I believe, in this case. The facilities for discussion are available to *The Nation* in its own columns, and I think it would have done much better to slug the question out there. The democratic process implies not only that the participants will be reasonably tolerant but that they will be reasonably thick-skinned. THOMAS I. EMERSON

New Haven, Conn.

. . . or in Court

Dear Sirs: An editorial in the *New Leader* of June 11, 1951, asserted that the time-honored liberal method of settling disputes is through political debate, presumably in the pages of journals rather than in the courtroom.

I would agree that in this country a libel suit is generally resorted to only in "extreme situations." However, during certain periods of American and English history a court trial has constituted the most perfect form of political debate. After all, the courtroom is an arena where the opponents argue, present evidence, cross-examine, and refute—all the elements of political debate—and a decision is made on the evidence submitted. In fact, were it not for the so-called "oligarchical character of the legal system," our courts, with their serious character and ability to gather the relevant evidence, would be a better place for political debate than the press, which often presents the public with a distorted picture of events because it has to report them piecemeal.

In a completely democratic society denunciations of citizens might well be made formally in the courtroom, as they were in ancient Athens. In a healthy liberal democracy the courtroom should be a public place where important and interesting disputes between citizens would be fairly conducted in full view of the citizenry.

Practically speaking, going to court puts the burden of proof in this particular kind of dispute right where it belongs, with the accuser. The accusation that Mr. del Vayo is a Communist is a serious one and should be tested in the most imposing arena we have, namely, in court. Outside of court how

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: $50 weekly, $7.50 daily.
65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

OAKWOOD
53 MILES
marvelous food
Informal, charming colonial estate. Pvt. lake. Sports. Golf nearby. T.V. Excell. Amer-Jewish cuisine. Instruct. in folk & social dancing. Accom. 60 adults.
New Windsor, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

SUMMER RENTAL

WALKILL, NEW YORK. Bungalows in small colony. Beautiful surroundings, large acreage. Private river, swimming, fishing. New Frigidaires. Very reasonable. Call SU 7-3170 1-5 P.M.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

Butcher... Baker... Candlestick Maker ?
Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of
THE Nation
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

can Mr. del Vayo prove to the people that he is not a Communist? Under the informal conditions of debate in the pages of magazines an erroneous impression might easily be left in the minds of many persons. It should not be up to the accused to disprove such a charge; it should be up to the accuser to prove it.

The courtroom, far from precluding political debate, intensifies and purifies it, and offers the possibility of an authentic and valid conclusion. Those who are interested in denouncing others should welcome the chance to make their point in the most public way possible—in court. AARON BELL

Geneva, N. Y.

But Publicize Result

Dear Sirs: . . . I think you are right to take the libel suit very militantly to your readers and to others who care about the liberal attitude. After all, the case breaks new ground, and its progress will be followed, I am sure, with enormous interest. . . . Perhaps, when the suit comes to trial, you would consider publishing weekly supplements containing verbatim transcripts of the testimony. Then all of us can really know how it is going.

New York HAROLD WENGLER

J. S. Mill's Verdict

Dear Sirs: I think I can best state my reasons for protesting against *The Nation's* refusal to print Mr. Greenberg's letter by employing the terms of the three classic suppositions of John Stuart Mill.

First of all, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is false, then *The Nation's* own true opinion, by being tested in free and open debate, can become only more vitally true. Second, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is true, then *The Nation,* even though it denies the truth of the opinion, has no moral right to suppress it, since suppression assumes the absolute infallibility of *The Nation* to decide the question not only for itself but for its readers, to whom it owes an impartial presentation of evidence. Finally, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is partly true and partly false, then it is the duty of *The Nation* to present and discuss the opposing opinions in order that the truth may be determined.

I am not concerned with the possibly libelous nature of Mr. Greenberg's letter but with *The Nation's* failure to publish his letter and to give its reasons for deciding that his opinion is false. As Mill puts it: "There is the greatest possible difference between presuming an opinion to be true because, with every opportunity for contesting it, it had not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation. Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving our opinion is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth; and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right."

Right now I am in a very bleak state of mind—which has not been mitigated by my inability to follow the logic of your editorial in the issue of June 2. It still seems to me that I had every reason to expect that *The Nation* would publish and discuss Mr. Greenberg's letter. And I am thoroughly convinced that such action on the part of *The Nation*—no matter what the truth or falsity of Mr. Greenberg's letter—by proving its belief in freedom of opinion could have only redounded to its praise.

Philadelphia H. P. LAZARUS

May You Prevail!

Dear Sirs: I've read your statement on Greenberg and the *New Leader* and am heartily in accord with your position. I am very much opposed to the so-called liberal who feels the need to prove his liberalism not merely by taking a completely anti-Communist position but also by vilifying those liberals who continue to adhere to the positive principles of democracy rather than the negative doctrines of anti-communism. There is too much fear and hate in our midst, and the only sufferers from this hysteria are those who refuse to be stampeded.

It is one thing to oppose communism and to be on the alert against possible Russian aggression. But those who insist that everyone must join in their hysterical opposition to whatever the Communists say and do or be damned are following a course certain to undermine the very foundations of our democracy. I am, therefore, very grateful to you for making your stand clear and for defending those who have neither the power nor the opportunity to defend their liberalism publicly.

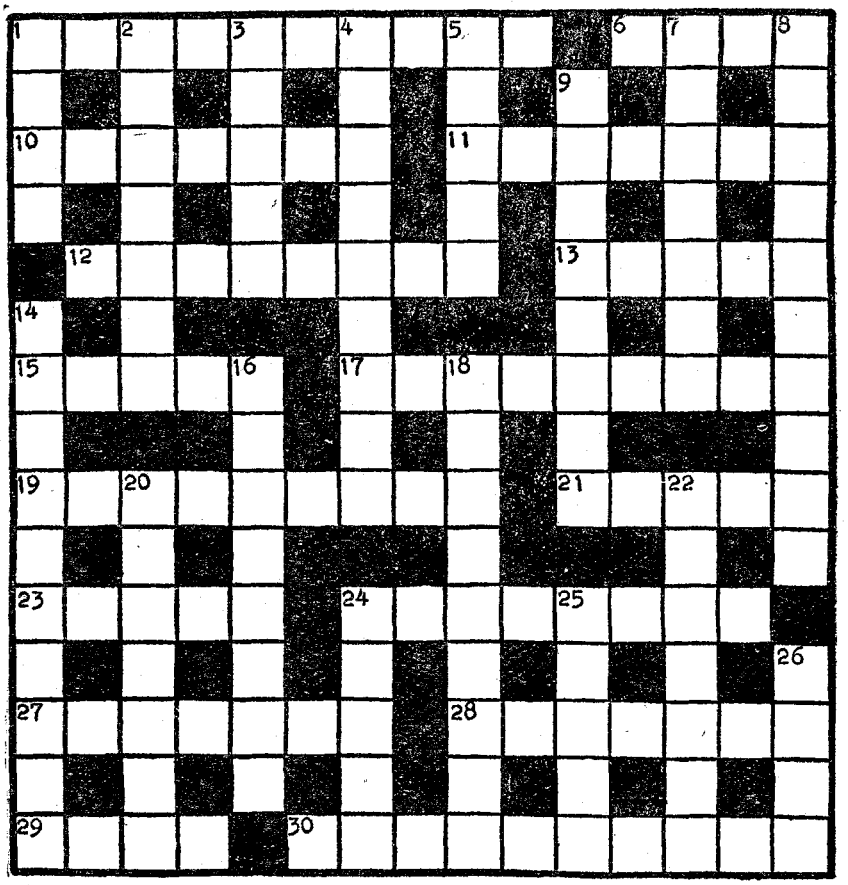
I wish it were possible for me to help you in this fight. More power to you, and may you prevail!

New York CHARLES A. MADISON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 420

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 13. Excessive hydrophilia? (5, 2, 3, 5)
6 The news gatherer is bully! (4)
10 Glimmer. (7)
11 The sort of thing one doesn't understand is mainly relative. (7)
12 Want to get petted like this sort of sect does? (8)
13 See 1.
15 Steal a barrel of it! (5)
17 A. W. L., and Congressmen, too! (9)
19 Bunthorne said such a love wouldn't suit him. (9)
21 A good row never contains it. (5)
23 Roots of the trunk. (5)
24 Where to find Foss' house, incidentally. (2, 3, 3)
27 Letters which were once lent are forever being changed. (7)
28 Do some lawyers do it crossly? (7)
29 Otherwise, Robert E.'s house needs alterations! (4)
30 Two living - - - living in afterthought. (10)

DOWN

1 and 26. Grey makes 5 related to these, but the SPCA won't approve if you do. (8)
2 Impersonation of flight? (4-3)
3 The things that came for Bromfield. (5)
4 Billy, or just where he steps out? (5, 4)
5 See 1 down. (5)
7 A petrel should be far from stormy. (7)
8 Implying Mendelssohn's musical source? (6, 4) ?
9 Non-union poet? (8)
14 Not a public seer. (7, 3)
16 Festoons rearranged again. (8)
18 Jacob and Orlando. (9)
20 Eden and Mary weren't the 19 kind. (7)
22 A lesser form of triumph accorded an ancient Roman commander. (7)
24 Those who make hay need one to bundle up. (5)
25 The only animal in the land. (5)
26 See 1 down.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 419

ACROSS:—1 CONSTELLATION; 10 ERATO; 11 EPICUREAN; 12 SHORTAGES; 13 ETHER; 14 GAINSBOROUGH; 19 LIBERTY BONDS; 22 EVENT; 24 COMMODORE; 25 OUTLANDER; 26 REIMS; 27 ADVERTISEMENT.

DOWN:—2 ORATOR; 3 SHORT HAIR; 4 EMERGENCY; 5 LAIRS; 6 TRUCE; 7 OVERHAUL; 8 TENSE; 9 ANARCHY; 15 BOOKMARKS; 16 RADIOGRAM; 17 BLUE BOY; 18 OBJECTED; 20 NOTION; 21 VERSE; 23 TRACE; 24 CADET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Year 'round Adult Activities
Hathaway Lodge
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

"An Artist in the Kitchen"
pody's LOCUST GROVE
Hopewell Junction, N. Y.
Accommodations for 20
Beautiful colonial home on 100-acre farm. 55 miles from N. Y. 15-mile mountain views. Acres of lawn, century-old shade trees, private lake, sports, counselor. Complete carefree summer including gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes if you like. Low season rates.

SUMMIT LODGE
ROSCOE, NEW YORK • Elevation 2,500 feet
- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
- The Continental Cafe on The Green
- Spacious, shady lawns
- Swimming and boating
- Sports
- Library, recordings

Rates $43 up, semi-private bath $50
Rooms hot, cold running water
ROscoe 2-3412
N. Y. Tel: IN 2-5351 or WA 4-1575—5-10 P.M.

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE – STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Intesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98–Ring 13

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!
THE NEW **Glenmere**
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 – N. Y. REctor 2-5047

A Forest–Farm–Lake–Mountain Paradise
274 Acres • 2 Lakes • A Trout Stream
Evening FORUM, July–August, SPEAKERS
WORLD FELLOWSHIP
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Good FOOD, Room, Bath, $4 to $7 daily
Friendly, Informal HOME ATMOSPHERE, Music
Boating, Swimming, Games, Excursions
Welcoming ALL Races, Faiths, Convictions
Free FOLDER, Photos, Rates, Transportation

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

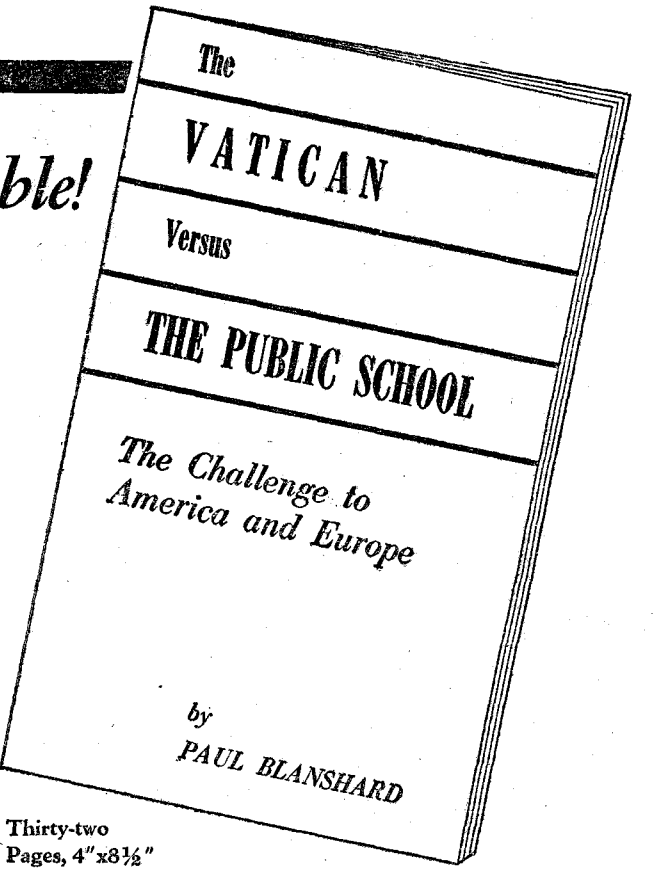
Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
• 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

LEAD A DOUBLE LIFE—Walk to Tanglewood for the concerts—or fish for bass in our two lakes. Write MUSIC INN, Lenox, Mass.

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This Booklet Now Available!



Thirty-two Pages, 4"x8½"

AS A RESULT of many requests from readers, *The Nation* has decided to reprint, in booklet form, the series of four articles by *Paul Blanshard* which appeared in recent issues, dealing with the struggle between the Vatican and public education in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy.

In addition to these articles, the booklet contains a 3000-word introduction and conclusion showing how the European struggle bears upon the efforts of the church to control education in America. Mr. Blanshard believes that "the action of the Roman Catholic church in opposing public education in the United States is an expression of world-wide policy, and that the Vatican has now everywhere become the foremost enemy of the public school."

We are issuing this timely booklet in large quantities in the hope that it may find its way into the hands of as many readers as possible.

About the Author

Best known for his exposure of Tammany while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigation and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia, Paul Blanshard has had a varied career of public service. He has studied theology, is a member of the New York Bar, and was a State Department official during World War II. He is the author of "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean" and "American Freedom and Catholic Power." The latter book became a best-seller despite a press conspiracy of silence against it, and was honored by the Religious Book Roundtable of the American Library Association as one of the fifty best religious books of 1949. His latest book, "Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power," will be published this spring.

SINGLE COPY 25¢

POSTPAID

BULK RATES:

10 copies $2.25; 25 copies $5; 50 copies $9; 100 copies $15; 500 copies $60; 1,000 copies or more $100 per thousand.

Use attached coupon, and mail your order, with remittance, to

THE *Nation*

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Use This Convenient Order Form

THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Please mail me, postpaid _____ copies of Paul Blanshard's booklet "The Vatican versus The Public School." I enclose my remittance of $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

7/7/51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED